

"OBEY LITTLE, RESIST MUCH"

LET ME TAKE YOU DOWN

'CAUSE I'M GOING TO STRAWBERRY FIELDS...

NOTHING TO GET HUNG-UP ABOUT...

STRAWBERRY FIELDS...FOREVER...

Kathy, Ken, John, Rick and I went to the Strawberry Fields Rock Festival in Ontario, in "free north america." One hundred thousand freaks living together in peace and harmony--no pigs with their clubs, guns and laws. You see, anarchy is possible!! The economic relationships practiced by those gathered at the Festival proved to me that the two "competing" libertarian economic theories (voluntary communal sharing & the free market) can coexist, and, in a free society, would coexist.

There was a flourishing free market: everything from food and posters (made by US draft doggers--who are having a bad time in Canada) to new culture "drugs" was being traded. And it was a well-formed market: competition drove the price of acid down to \$1.25 by the end of the weekend. There also was a great deal of communal sharing: you couldn't get through the crowd without being offered a toke or two, and when people had more than they needed, they tended to share with their neighbors: the giving and receiving of gifts was an important element in the festive atmosphere. Another aspect of the voluntary sharing was the way in which people responded to need: one freak needed a 15" wheel to get home, and some one out of those one hundred thousand people, voluntarily provided the wheel!

The friendly, open manner of the people, the total lack of violence, the respect for each other's possessions and feelings, combined with the heavy music\* gave us all a foretaste of the world we're going to build. The big rock festivals of the past two years should be ranked along with Josiah Warren's anarchist village of Modern Times and the other early American experiments in free communities as major attempts to show mankind that men are capable of reaching their highest social goal: a non-coercive, peaceful community. The new culture is the mass basis of entirely new society, a non-aggressive society: the new culture is the Revolution, because without the cultural base and cultural revolution, the political revolution cannot succeed.

This is why the pig is so down on our culture and our attempts to live together. He knows that if we can create (even for a weekend) peaceful, voluntary communities, his 5,000 year reign is doomed. He knows it; we should know it. And we should be ready to create and defend our free communities as the expression of our culture and as a declaration to all mankind: we can be free together...forever.

Ralph Fucetola III

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\*Alice Cooper, Inc. was supergreat; Grand Funk R.R. and Sly & Family were also fine; Jose Feliciano sang "Don't Boggart that Joint My Friend" and the amerikan flag joint paper was just oughta sight!

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YOU ARE THE PEOPLE

YOUR MOTHER

WARNED YOU AGAINST!!





## LENINIST LIBERTARIANISM VS. CLASSICAL "ANARCHIST" LIBERTARIANISM

## PART TWO

BY STEVE HALBROOK

Contrast this non-dogmatic, libertarian attitude with the response of self-proclaimed "liberty-lover" Emma Goldman: "The new economic policy turned Moscow into a vast market place," she complained. "Trade became the new religion..... The slogan 'Rob the robbers,' was turned into 'Respect the robbers,' and again was proclaimed the sanctity of private property." (My Disillusionment In Russia, 1925) Horror of horrors: free trade and (gasp) private property!!! Her foolish simpletonness is evident: was it not the czarist tyranny who suppressed the free market, did it not make a mockery of the masses' private property? And what would the "anarchist" Emma Goldman do to smash free exchange between and among peasants and individualist production and consumption--herd all dissenters into slave labor camps, shoot them? "Eliminate" the kulaks as a class à la "Comrade" Stalin? The dogmatism, intolerance, and self-righteousness of classical "anarchism" is exposed for what it really is.

Instance Three: the most seemingly valid criticism of Leninism is that it set up a new State to enslave and regulate the masses. As in the other instances, however, this criticism, while commonly held, once more exhibits the total dearth classical "anarchism" experiences in its clumsy and unfactual method of interpreting reality. Regarding the full and real triumph of the Revolution, Lenin in State and Revolution made one point crystal clear: "The main thing is whether the old state machinery (connected by thousands of threads with the bourgeoisie and saturated through and through with routine and inertia) shall remain or be destroyed and replaced by a new one (i.e. the voluntary institution of the armed workers). A revolution must not consist in a new class ruling, governing with the help of the old state machinery, but in this class smashing this machinery and ruling, governing (i.e. suppressing new power freaks and potential ruling classes behind them) by means of new machinery." Lenin in addition describes how for the Revolution to be a success, all "bureaucrats, i.e., privileged persons detached from the masses, and standing above the masses" must somehow be utterly and completely smashed as a class, and a libertarian model (such as the Paris Commune) set up to defend the Revolution.

This, nothing else, is the crucial problem for libertarian revolutionaries; this is which determines whether a true and thoroughgoing Revolution succeeds or fails. THE REVOLUTION MUST TOTALLY DESTROY THE OLD STATE (not such an easy task!!) or it cannot be considered successful.

The failure Of the Russian Revolution, the failure of the Soviet authorities and their lackeys to wither away, consists exactly in this. The Bolsheviki, to be sure, did "seize power"--but they seized that of the old state instead of totally demolishing the old State and creating new libertarian voluntary organizations à la State and Revolution. Only weeks before his death Lenin recognized that the old state which lived in the still existing czarist bureaucracy remained a powerful element to be smashed for "socialism" to become reality. In "How We Should Reorganize the Workers and Peasants Inspection", Lenin deplored that "our state apparatus is largely a survival of the old one....It has only been slightly repainted on the surface, but in all other things it is a typical relic of our old state apparatus." Previous attempts to destroy this old bureaucracy had failed: the Bolsheviki had not been powerful enough to do so in October 1917, and even less so in ensuing months due to the White Counterrevolution(which only served to strengthen the bureaucracy). The only thing to do was to set up a rough agency to at least try to check that which they were powerless to destroy; but the agency, Rabkrin, became a bureaucracy itself and is where pig Stalin rose to power. So much for reformist schemes. Lenin fought the bureaucracy and such bureaucratic swine as Stalin to the end, but his illness sapped his effectiveness and he died aware that the still existing czarist State was winning out in its struggle to the death with the Revolution.

The pigs won. Nicholas II was reincarnated in the personage of Josef Stalin. Only the names changed, the bureaucracy stayed the same; by no accident as late as 1932 a soviet report revealed that in some sections as many as 50% of the bureaucrats had served under the government of Nicholas II. At the death of Lenin the gains won under NEP for true liberty --- ownership by the MASSSES of the means of production, people's private property, free trade, etc.---began to be chiseled away; it remained for the bureaucratic class led by Stalin to abolish ownership--the people's ownership, to smash private property--the masses' private property--to kill free exchange--the worker's and the peasant's free exchange and to do away with all the other evil, wicked, mean and nasty elements of the free market. Did Emma Goldman smile in her grave? Her ideal had been realized by the only way it could

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be realized; glory in this, you classical "anarchists" who want what some elite (yourself) defines as "communism" to be forced on those who desire to retain freedom of production and consumption. Of course true anarchist communism is a clearly unobjectionable ideal, which may be particularly relevant for post-scarcity societies (when and if any exist); yet classical "anarchists" do not have voluntary communism in mind when they would employ "comrade" Stalin's methods to dissenters.

Any libertarian interested in putting his ideas into practice, in formulating viable revolutionary theory, strategy, and tactics, must learn the lessons of the Russian Revolution. Classical "anarchism" totally failed to study how old States may be overturned; by no accident they could never attract a large following because everyone recognized them as utopian dreamers that they were. The first lesson one must learn is that it is ever so hard to smash, to totally do away with, the bureaucracy. If the State is ever to perish, the bureaucracy must be (in Lenin's words) "shattered" totally smashed; oh so many revolutions have failed for not doing this, and even if on the surface many revolutions succeeded they actually did not because of the bureaucratic continuity, the fact that the "new" State is in fact the old State with a different name. Let us consider other historical examples of this continuity for emphasis.

Scott Ullery, in his excellent article "Anarchism", The Match!, July 1969, points out that: a successful foreign takeover is greatly facilitated by the pre-existing network of bureaucratic hierarchies which remain in operation for long periods of time, waiting merely for new leadership. Such is the case of the French bureaucracies during and after periods commonly thought to be under anarchy; the French bureaucracies remained intact and continued to administer during the vacancies of the political offices. Observe also the fact that the Nazi bureaucracy is still fairly well intact in Germany and essentially only the man "Hitler" is missing--his spirit remains.

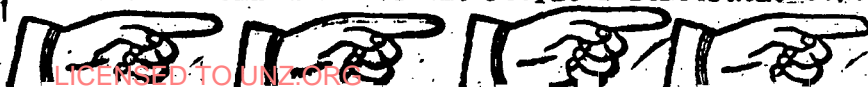
These examples apply even moreso to the subject under discussion, for obvious reasons. In an article by Karl Marx, "The Future Results of British Rule in India", both Ullery's & my points are borne out. For the British Imperialists, India was quite hard to take over because there was no pre-existing central bureaucracy. Had a power structure already existed, the aggressors would have only had to seize it; as none existed, they had to build one, which took much more effort. Marx adds that "even at this moment (1853) India is held in English thralldom by an Indian army maintained at the cost of India!" However, Marx was incorrect when he claimed, "the native army, organized and trained by the British drill-sergeant, was the sine qua non of Indian self-emancipation, and of India ceasing to be the prey of the first foreign intruder!" The fallacy here is obvious: India was then still under British rule, and remains so today, because that same bureaucracy created by the imperialists remains intact, it was never smashed. As the British New Left document "The May Manifesto" (1968) points out in regard to India and other colonies:

continued on page six  
Newark's Broad Street. There is  
a pool of blood in the middle of  
see my friends lying, face down in  
now, I, for one am not prepared to  
who advocate violent confrontation  
so called leaders of the New Left  
like Jerry Rubin, Mark Rudd & others  
being thrown at them from people  
students have listened to the garbage  
for nothing, all because colleges  
at Kent & Jackson have been buried  
future which means six young people  
the slight majority in the forseeable  
could possibly defeat the Pentagon  
our loose talk. I do not see how  
realizing the full implications of  
revolution, myself included without  
stuntily talk & joke about violent  
libertarians & other radicals con-  
& shook some sense into me. Anarch  
of Neil Young, & OHIO have moved me  
I can't tell you how the words  
BY JOHN BROTSCHOL  
DEATH

So far as Britain is concerned, we can only speculate that the full liquidation of Empire never in fact took place. In economic terms, it is clear that where colonial governors left off, the new international companies and financial interests took over. Similarly, the political record is more and ambiguous than in the usual accounts... In many cases the process by which the Empire was "wound up" entailed armed revolution, civil war, prolonged civil disobedience. In other cases, freedom came in a hurry by political directive, almost before the national movement demanded it, while safe leaders and cadres still retained power.

As is well known, the "safe" anti-Communist bureaucracy retains power, preventing as before meaningful economic and social changes. It was by no means destroyed upon "liberation".

The same process occurs elsewhere. "Thus, the roots of the bureaucratization of the socialist state in both Stalinist Russia and in the (East European) People's Democracies between 1947 & 1955 go back to the bureaucratic structures of regimes that predated the October revolution and the establishment of the People's Democratic states....



The new bureaucracy (is) heir to the traditions and often the personnel of the old one," in the words of Serge Mallet, "Bureaucracy and Technocracy in the Socialist Countries," Socialist Revolution, May-June 1970. Ullery's thesis also obtains: "The Russian bureaucracy, or as Lenin would say, the 'Great Russian' bureaucracy, is a national bureaucracy. The bureaucracy. The bureaucracy of other Eastern countries appears more often than not as the executive of the wishes of the Russian bureaucracy." As Mallet argues, liberation from the bureaucracies, the withering away of the State (in the normal, non-Leninist usage), is coming with adoption of worker's self-management, i.e., the free market. However, restrictions which remain on the market necessitate the technocracy, who, though they are increasingly breaking the power of the bureaucracy and are preferable to the bureaucracy, may become a new ruling class, a new "bureaucracy" (in the broader sense) themselves.

Frank Choderov wrote: "The bureaucracy is the State." From the above, it should appear evident that the bureaucracy and hence the State, which indeed must be shattered if man is ever to be free, is one hell of an obstacle to shatter. The job is much more difficult than is normally imagined. Classical "anarchists" never even attempted to mention, much less analyze the problem. It was a good thing for their neat little theories that they did not understand the problem, for who likes to throw neat little theories held by faith into the cesspit? They had supposed they would simply abolish the State, i.e., the bureaucracy, in one single stroke. Well, it is a fine ideal, but is it really an overnight proposition? The only way this could be carried out would be for the masses to suddenly rise up out of nowhere (no doubt everyone would secretly prepare for the rising for years by staying up late reading Goldman or Tucker) and, descending upon every bureaucrat (all of which are taken by surprise) in the land, shoot every one of them in one night. The unreality that this can ever happen, as well as humanistic objections from some quarters, rule it out completely.

It has remained for certain Leftist countries to provide the correct models. As it turns out, the State cannot be abolished in one fell swoop (would that it could) but must wither away, or be abolished as fast as possible (which is not 24 hours). But there must not be any kidding around, the true intent must be there to get rid of the State; this leaves out Stalin and other such pigs.

The question is one of power and might. It depends on the willingness and ability of the masses and leaders to abolish the State versus that of the bureaucracy to keep it. In Russia, for instance, the bureaucracy was more powerful than the leaders (notably after Lenin died) and the workers and peasants; hence it triumphed. Some leaders as well as the masses fought the bureaucracy, but the latter was more willing and able to win.

To illustrate the problem more fully, which is to consider the only manner in which the bureaucracy can be shattered, it is necessary to take two cases wherein the State is being shattered presently: Yugoslavia And China.

The Yugoslav case consists in more importance being given to the leaders than the people to carry out the withering away of the State. This is not to say the Yugoslav Revolution was not a popular movement, for it certainly was. It is true, however, that the leaders took it upon themselves to plan everything initially--in 1945 they proclaimed themselves "the best Stalinists in the Balkans"--which the bureaucracy was more than happy to oblige, and the people passively acquiesced. However, after repeated economic failures due to government plans and after a sharpening humanist consciousness among the leaders after which they took serious their charge to make the State wither away, the leaders set themselves against the bureaucracy and began to carry out libertarian reforms. For two decades now the bureaucracy, ever more weakened, still resists reforms but is losing. The process could likely be speeded up if the masses were more enthused--while for centuries Yugoslavs have been hard working enterprisers, they have left it to idealistic leaders to take the initiative to demand institutional reforms which result in more worker's profits. Thus the Revolution, initially from below, then Stalinist, has since been carried out from above in anarchistic paths. The death knell of the bureaucracy was sounded in 1950; its graveyards have been filled.

Contrast this with the Chinese model. The Chinese Revolution was and remains a mass movement. By the time of liberation in 1949 much of the old bureaucracy of the Chiang Kai-shek ruling clique had been shattered, coming not too far from the ideal Lenin argued for in State and Revolution. Of course, since some bureaucrats fled to Taiwan while virtually none were shot by people's justice, quite a few bureaucrats remained on the mainland. The story of Mao's and other's fights against bureaucracy cannot be told here; suffice it to say that the Cultural Revolution which began in 1966 has virtually eliminated most remaining fragments of the bureaucracy and, as everyone from Pravda to US News and World Report exclaim, has plunged China into "anarchy". China is a case in which libertarian leaders and the masses cooperate together to fight the bureaucracy. How have they destroyed the bureaucracy? Not by shooting

UCH

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## WAGE SLAVERY?

Walter Block

a man owns slaves, he at least will have to keep them fed out of self-interest. But what of the factory owner? He will not lose out if his workers die off. He can always hire more from the 'reserve army of the unemployed'. He will have no incentive to feed workers who he is not responsible for. Thus the slaves will be cared for, while the workers may die, concludes the argument.

My contention is that this is a completely fallacious argument and like most arguments that propose to show the inefficiency or immorality of the free market system, it is lacking in economic reasoning and mistaken in historical fact. We may best see this by realizing that a slave system is totally incompatible with a subsistence level of income. For who would want to hold a slave if he could produce no more than was necessary to keep himself alive? Where would be the profit for the slave owner of a slave who could not produce any more than what his food cost? As a matter of fact, the price of the slave would have to be negative under these conditions (no one would want to buy a slave unless he were compensated for the costs of capturing and guarding the slave) and slavery could not exist.

What of the working man under a subsistence economy? Will he be left to starve? Interestingly enough, our economic analysis leads us to the historical view that, except for short-term wars and pestilences, perhaps, the working man never found himself in a subsistence economy. We have seen that slavery is incompatible with subsistence levels of income. But there has been slavery in the recent past (the 19th century USA) the distant past (the Greek and Roman era) and even in biblical times. Therefore there could not have been subsistence levels of income in either the recent past, the distant past, nor in biblical times. There was not even a subsistence economy in England during the Industrial Revolution (as many are fond of accusing) for there was also slavery in those days (in Africa, where incomes were even lower than in England) and in a world where there is only subsistence, slavery cannot pay.

While it is not true, then, that the working man has had to labor under the spectre of subsistence, he has been made worse-off than he might have been by being forced into the 'reserve army of the unemployed'. But he has been forced into such unemployment not by the workings of the unencumbered market, but by state intervention into the economy. This has occurred in two main ways\*: through government-backed union demands and through union-inspired minimum wage legislation. The only way unions can raise wages over and above what they would have been is by restricting entry into the field, forcing others who would have liked to work there into either less preferable jobs or into unemployment. It is easy to see that minimum-wage legislation leads to the 'reserve army of the unemployed'. Imagine the horrendous increase in unemployment were the minimum legal wage raised to \$100 per hour. Surely vast numbers of people are worth less than \$100 per hour to their employers. Since employers go out of business if they long pay their employees more than what their productivity is worth, these vast numbers of people will either lose their jobs directly (by being fired) or indirectly (when bankruptcy forces the business to shut down). There is no difference in principle between a \$100 per hour minimum wage law and our present \$2 per hour one. The only difference is that fewer people have to join the 'reserve army' in the latter case, because fewer people have less than \$2 per hour productivity. In terms of human suffering and injustice, however, it may be even more cruel to single out certain low-productivity groups (young people, black people, physically handicapped people) for these groups already bear certain burdens unknown to the general public.

\*The third way, governmental financial mismanagement is too far afield for discussion here.

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you shall not crucify mankind on a cross of paper... William Jennings Schneider

HALBROOK CONTINUED

them, but by re-educating them, the most humane way. The people, encouraged by the leaders, throw the bureaucrats out of their offices and force them to work in fields and factories like everyone else. To give the intellectuals respect for the rights of their fellow men, rather than justifying their oppression as many did under Chiang, they are sent to the rice paddies to learn the feelings of the common people by engaging in collective manual labor. (Cf. e.g. On the Re-education of Intellectuals, Peking, 1968.) Mao himself had been a classical anarchist in his student years; while retaining his love of liberty, he scrapped the silly nothingness in the area of strategy classical anarchists mentioned (when they bothered to mention such an unimportant thing as strategy!) and, by his experiences in the masses' struggles, formed a new theory of people's revolution and applied it to the concrete conditions of China. The difference between utopians like Kropotkin or Tucker and neo-Bakunists like Lenin or Mao consists in the difference between classical "anarchism" and modern libertarianism, between arm chair babbling and real revolution, between dreaming in reactionary slave society and acting in revolutionary free society.

THE END

**RIGHT ON!**

BROTSCHOL CONTINUED:

some hope however, people such as David Dellinger are offering civil disobedience as an alternative to burning down your local bank and attacking police stations. The road to liberation might be longer and killing will probably occur as the State makes examples of selected individuals but the casualties will be considerably less. I just can't conceive of a government existing with no active or passive support from its citizenry. This is why communes and political organizing are so important, the civil disobedience of one or two is meaningless but if a hundred people get together, the chances are another hundred will join until the Pentagon comes down like the walls of Jericho. The communes fit into my theory as offering a haven for those the State is after, as shown in Fahrenheit 419 preferably however, they will not be so far removed from the population centers; this in order to prevent the whole community from being ZAPPED (Haight Asbury of two years ago is an excellent example). Perhaps we'll never succeed & we'll have to retreat but if we have the dedication and don't run around like chickens with our heads cut off, like the Weathermen; we might, if the wind is at our backs and the pigs make a few more mistakes like Vietnam and Cambodia be able to bring the stars & stripes down and use it for toilet paper. Maybe civil disobedience won't work and we'll have to take up guns and fight for our liberation in the streets but isn't it worth a try, for the life you save may be your own.

P.S. Not all radical change has to come from the barrel of a gun---ORGANIZE !!!!!!!!!

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2 for 25¢ or, 1 button for each libertarian or movement name & address you send us.

Offer good for a limited time only; there may be delays due to the state post office.

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#### LIBERTARIAN NEWSNOTES

- 1) Many libertarians are joining the Peace Action Coalition, the new "broad-based" anti-war group formed at the Cleveland SMC meeting. Write PAC 2102 Euclid A. Cleveland 44115
- 2) The Libertarian-Anarchist Book Service now has James Martin's Men Against the State in stock. Martin's book is the biographies of various 19th century American anarchists. The price is \$2.25, to LABS gpo 2487 new york city 10001.
- 3) Libertarian conference: Sept. 26 & 27 at Drexel Univ. (32nd & Market, Philadelphia) organized by SIL. Write: SIL 304 Empire Building, 13th & Walnut Streets Phila Pa.
- 4) WRITE IN ROTTER! Andrew Seth Rotter, a 19 year old Rutgers New Brunswick student is running for Congress on the platform that "Andy can do you no harm", 'cause he can't serve if elected! Everyone is invited to support the Uncandidate by writing him in for any and all offices. Info: NJLA 65 Mt Prospect A Verona NJ.

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**"NOT WITH MY LIFE YOU DON'T!"**